1: Gusinde--722 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SHG Yahgan SHG

/867 cont./

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One understands the difficult position of many an uíwáala in view of the fact that every adult has the right to criticize and correct him in anything that he feels is necessary. Many a relative and friend has previously perhaps made a fruitless effort in behalf of a boy or girl, his influence having been of brief duration. Here, however, the candidate is in the hands of the adult for a longer period. The latter makes the best use of this opportunity, for it is the last, so to speak. After his initiation every candidate regards himself more or less as one of the adults. Time and again the uíwáala is told explicitly: "You are now old enough. Up to now your father and mother have provided food for you, made a place for you in the hut, and helped you in everything. They [your parents] have taken enough trouble with you over a period of many years, you may no longer be a burden to them. Seek your life's companion soon and stay by yourself [in your own dwelling] (286)!"

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286. I, personally, experienced for myself how seriously they take the admonitions directed toward a prompt marriage. On my second visit I had shown the Yamana various photographs and pointed out each person as in some way related to me. I said to them: "This is my mother, my grandfather, my paternal uncle, and so forth." I was using this means to induce them to let me photograph them. After a while they asked: "Won't you also show us a picture of your wife?" When I assured them that I was not yet married, they found it incomprehensible that a person of my age should still be single. At the end of my first initiation that year, old Alfredo, the leader of the affair, said to me: "We have taught you many good things in the Great Hut, now act accordingly! When you get back to your people do not forget to take a girl as your wife!" In order to show myself obliging to the dear old man, I replied affirmatively: "I shall gladly comply with your words and also soon look

1: Cosinde--787 E-5 (1918-1934) 1937 DNE Tehgan DNB

/DNE cont./
In order to give strong emphasis to the admonitions, Tenkyo is mentioned again and again.

"Of course, besides that, there is also Hidobun; he is the strong one who actually punishes. Everyone must be particularly careful of him. But all that is taken for granted and that is why Hidobun is less frequently mentioned in the Tehogo (DNB).

> DNB. "Hidobun," like "Watatsinotsu," is a name for the same Supreme Being.

Here we want to make our teachings and admonitions to the candidates effective; that is why we threaten them with Tenkyo. Our men give all the calls that the Hidobun attribute to him. The young chap takes this into consideration after he enters the Great Hut for the third time, but previous to that, out of fear of Tenkyo, he has been set upon the right course [of fulfilling his duty]. Later he is told that only men produce these calls. Then he says to himself: /DNE/ "Hitherto I thought Tenkyo called out from the earth!" Nevertheless, he remains on the good path, to which he has by now become accustomed."

[DNE] After the candidates have been dismissed from the second youth initiation they are legally adults. In general, except on special occasions, they do not receive further instructions or admonitions. Hence Tenkyo is not mentioned outside the Tehogo tale.

In the mythology of the Tenrens the tales concerning the actual bearers of culture, named Tsiloo, and their family have a special place (DNB). In olden times this name was scarcely ever

> DNB. Here we should say in anticipation that among these Pangians he embodies what the hero "Kwanyiy" does for the Selk'nam (Vol. I, DNE). Both have created important institutions and prescribed the norms of life, so to speak.

mentioned to immature youths before their initiation (p. 170 /unmarked/); the girls heard it for the first time on the occasion of

L. Conkle--TU E-6 (1929-1954) 1957 OSU Religion Dept

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arrangements deviate from the traditional order, even at single points, their very essence is endangered and sooner or later they break up completely. This is also a sign of the simultaneous decay of the social order and the whole spiritual wealth of such primitive peoples.

At the eleventh hour I was privileged to experience the original existence and the serious spirit of the Tukonge celebration on the occasion of my first initiation in 1929. Even at that time, however, allowance was made for the physical weakness of the candidates and for many customs which had become second nature to the adults. Two years later Semango, as the leader, held the reins of the daily program very much lower. The older people not only deplored the excessive leniency, but were quite openly ashamed of it, for they realized only too clearly that they themselves, with their lax customs, were digging an early grave for their traditional tribal heritage. Nevertheless, my two participations in the Tukonge gave me fair insight into what this affair means to the group of adults also.

/305/ a. General Regulations

It is well known that every T'amara who has twice gone through the Tukonge ceremony or circle may thereafter again take part in it with all the privileges accorded the adults. He is, of course, bound to the regulations as long as he is in or near the Green Hut. Everyone knows the meaning of this arrangement. To begin with there is no danger that anyone will risk obvious infractions against some regulation. The participants watch each other carefully and one is an example to the other in the gravity of his outward appearance of composure.

Inasmuch as the Tukonge is a common undertaking, everyone must on occasion put his energy at its disposal. Younger persons help with the building and initial furnishing of the Green Hut and later on with obtaining food and supervising the candidates. These and other services are performed by each one under the jurisdiction of the leader, for even the adults are subordinate to him so that order is maintained and the ceremony will proceed

under the term that I learned from personal experience and from the accounts of reliable Tarascos about their men's festival.

b. Preparation for the Festival

From whatever point of view one looks at the [illegible], it is far behind the [illegible] in importance. Therefore it is not surprising to find that the entire program of this affair, from beginning to end, is by no means bound by the strict formalism of an ordered and rigid system comparable to those that hold together the richly varied [illegible]. Nevertheless, in the orderly succession of individual events, the rules governing the [illegible] are adequate to achieve the goal concerning both the women in the camp and the young men who are getting their first introduction to it. There is much more scope here than in the [illegible] for the free display of the personal talents of the leader and its effect on the prevailing mood of the men taking part.

1. Occasion and Duration

From the point of view of character and aim, in other words, for subjective reasons, the [illegible] is by no means as necessary for a given group within Tarascan society as is the youth initiation. There is no really cogent reason why it should be held at one time rather than another. A person who has not yet in the [illegible] but twice as an [illegible] to an adult through that alone; he can get married and establish his own independent household. The public is very watchful to see that every child of both sexes experiences the initiation (p. [illegible]) and even censures silences toward a child who could not be made a [illegible] although and has meanwhile long since become an adult in years (p. [illegible]). The public, as well as men's thinking, however, are quite indifferent about whether or not he has experienced the [illegible]. Here the candidates do not receive an education in the strict sense of the word, and if a man temporarily has no knowledge of the men's secret or is deprived of it for some time, he does not thereby suffer any disadvantage worth mentioning.